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161 These figures are subject to correction, but are adequate for the present purpose. They indicate that the population of Stamford, Connecticut, could be multiplied into this total subjected European population about fourteen hundred times. That is, every man, woman, and child in such a community has fourteen hundred counterparts over there. Fourteen hundred Stamfords with its schools and churches, its jails and railroad station, its doctors and lawyers, its butchers and bakers, its little children and its grandfathers—all of them, every day and every night, first under the heel of Hitler and then under the heel of Stalin.

668 And every living soul has been steeped in a bath of propaganda for twelve years, one version being that there exists a master race, and another that "Anglo-American imperialism" does an endless series of misdeeds, such as sending potato bugs to Eastern Germany and disease-spreading insects to Korea. He may not believe all this, but he must not say so even to himself.

For the nerve center of this propaganda is terror. The Communist always begins with the devices of infiltration. These he is taught to handle adroitly. He can take over a labor union almost before its members suspect that he has any desire to do so. In the presence of liberals he can be a boon companion, and discreetly assent to his neighbor's views about Whitehead or St. Thomas Aquinas. But when the Russian Army is on hand to support him he is camouflaged only moderately. Everyone knows that his bosses have arrived from Moscow after a period of intensive training. But so long as "imperialist powers" are in relative control he appreciates each and every opportunity to pretend that he is some one else.

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697 He uses the radio and the newspaper, the friendly gathering of citizens, and the picture magazine. But the instrumentalities upon which he really relies are the secret police and the concentration camp. The police are not primarily there to ferret out plots. It is their business to cajole a vast army of informers

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into thinking that if they report the conversations and the past histories of others they themselves will be able to keep their skins relatively intact. The concentration camp is, however, the Communists' trump card. Anyone who causes trouble can be sent to one, and the supply is unlimited. The existence of such camps is, to be sure, so well known to the average person outside the Russian orbit that mention of them arouses relatively little interest. How many remember any longer the names of Dachau and Auschwitz?

Nevertheless the concentration camps operated by the Russians are very serious matters even to Americans, and may the Lord forbid that we ever get into them. But if we suppose that Thomas Murphy of Dubuque, Iowa, proprietor of a stationery store, were suddenly put into one before his wife could get much more than his toothbrush into his briefcase, we shall have a fairly good idea of what has been happening to hundreds of thousands of poor people in Eastern Europe for a long time and to all Central Europeans since 1945.

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We know rather less about Russia's slave-labor camps than, perhaps, we should; but even so the information is considerable. Some of what is known comes from sources which cannot be divulged. A good deal has also been supplied by persons who once resided in such camps. The system as such is thirty years old, though it has probably never been so extensive and well organized as it now is. Two purposes are served by it, which we may assume are those which the Nazis also posited as goals, even if their social objectives and methods were in some respects different from those of the Communists. Human beings can be used as beasts of burden in carrying out enterprises sponsored by the government. Secondly, if anyone is suspected of disloyalty, "sabotage," or difference of opinion, he can be removed from normal social life. Soviet society is a Gargantuan feat of human engineering. In the present state of tech-

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chosen by lot. Then at the appointed hour in the night they 697
pounce on their victim and hack him to pieces in a bestial fashion.

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Such is the situation in Russia. There are also concentration 699 ●
camps in the satellite countries, called in Communist language 466
"People's Democracies." It has been estimated that more than 1,000,000 persons have been sent to such camps, and the number may be far greater. Not included in this figure, for example, are Eastern Germany and the former Baltic States. The 699
existence of concentration camps has been widely advertised, 671
and decrees establishing them are on the statute books of all 687
the People's Democracies. The decrees merely apply to the country in question the provisions of Article 59 of the Criminal Code of U.S.S.R. The first Article of the Criminal Code of Rumania, for example, as reported by Albert K. Herling, reads as follows:

> Criminal law has for its purpose defending the Rumanian People's Republic and its legal order against actions dangerous to society by enforcing legal measures of social defense against persons who commit such actions. In the meaning of the preceding paragraph any action and omission that brings harm to the economic, social and political structure, or to the security of the Rumanian People's Republic, or which disturbs the legal order established by the people under the leadership of the working class is to be considered dangerous to society. The actions which are considered dangerous for society can be punished even when they are not expressly prohibited by law. In such cases the extent and limit of criminal responsibility is to be determined in accordance with the legal provisions in force for similar crimes.*

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The number of camps in the area reported by persons who 466
assert that they were present in them is so vast that the names by 697

* Statement issued on June 18, 1952, in behalf of the International League for the Rights of Man.

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466 which they go and the places where they are situated would fill
• 697 a small directory. Thus 179 have been reported from Czechoslovakia alone. If the information gathered is correct, there are at least six hundred slave-labor institutions in the People's Democracies. The use to which this labor is put, according to reports, is significant. In Rumania slave laborers, for example, work on farms, at power plants, on the construction of railroads and bridges, on the digging of canals, and in factories. Of interest also is the manner in which the system has been developed. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia witnessed the deportation to Russia, during the early stages of the occupation, of hundreds of thousands of people deemed hostile to Communism. Popular resentment of this brought about a temporary lull. What happened next, if one can judge by the experience of the Czechs and Slovaks, is that the government was authorized to compel workers to remain on jobs deemed to be in the national interest. This action was described as an emergency measure. The net result, however, was that young workers suspected of being hostile to the Communist regime were disciplined.

466 After the seizure of power by the Communists in 1948, several decrees were issued authorizing the government of Czechoslovakia to establish commissions of three to determine whether citizens should be sentenced to forced labor. Liability was very broadly defined. Thus one decree stipulated that "persons who are not less than eighteen and not more than sixty years of age, and are physically and mentally capable of working but evade work or threaten the establishment of the people's democratic order," might be sent to work camps for periods not less than three months and not longer than two years. In addition very stringent regulations were laid down concerning the supply of labor. No one was any longer to change his place of employment unless the responsible au-

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642 177 Stalin-Tito relations her communist system was much further advanced than that of any other Iron Curtain country, and since the break with Stalin only insignificant changes have been made in the structure of the highest organs of government. Tito still declares clearly and without any reservation that he intends to maintain the communist system in that country at any price.

IV

208 661 When communist propaganda speaks of the liberation of the oppressed masses from the slavery of the privileged and the rich, it stresses the term, People's Democracy. But does this term really signify freedom? Does it respect human dignity? Does it recognize equality among the people? Does it abolish undue privileges and the exploitation of the working people? It does not. In practice, it does not even provide personal freedom or personal security.

697 661 The overcrowded prisons and the many thousands of people in the forced labor camps bear witness to this. The Soviet Union and all the countries occupied by it are a large prison from which the majority of the people would escape if they only could. They would flee from the "Communist paradise" partly because of the difficult economic conditions, but mostly because of the unbearable atmosphere created by the insecurity and complete lack of freedom which are part of this system.

The majority of the people escaping today are average people—workers, peasants, craftsmen, small merchants, and others who have never belonged to any privileged or exploiting class. I have read a number of books on the living conditions in the Soviet forced labor camps; I have studied thousands of reports of Poles who have passed through Soviet camps and prisons; I have had hundreds of talks with the victims of the Soviet regime. And I have come

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o the belief that human language is unable to express the 697 ●
whole truth about the greatest disgrace to mankind that the 661
wentieth century will know—the Soviet forced labor camps.

A sentence to a forced labor camp amounts to a sentence [466]
f death because the enormous majority of the inmates in
hese camps cannot exist under the conditions prevailing
here and die before they are released. The inmate of such a
amp works beyond his strength, knowing that if his produc-
ivity falls his starvation-level food ration will be cut. The
nstinct for self-preservation urges him to defend himself
rom death, and his reactions become those of a hungry ani-
nal. All his human feelings disappear, even his attitude to-
ward his fellow inmates. Degraded and humiliated as a
uman being, the prisoner works like an animal for his ene-
nies only to prolong his life by a year or two and then inevita-
ly to perish.

Political freedom does not exist in the Communist coun- 641
ries either under law or in practice. Let us take for example 665
Article 72 of the Polish constitution of July 1952. Similar
provisions will be found in all other Communist constitu-
ions. The first lines of Article 72 say that the citizens have
the right of political organization, but the third paragraph
of the same article says that organization of assemblies and
participation in an organization which opposes the political
and social system of People's Poland are forbidden. In other
words, any party which does not recognize the Communist
political system is forbidden, and membership in it is punish-
able.

Since membership in a political party presupposes some
right to influence that party, the question arises whether the
Communists find it advisable to allow every citizen to belong
to his country's Communist Party. The answer is no. The
official statistics of the Communist parties in the occupied
countries as well as in the Soviet Union show that the num-
ber of members of these parties ranges from 5 to 10 per cent